438 utensils, and the like have considerable mobility in the Lolo community. Han-Chinese slaves constitute the most important [567] commodity for transactions. Traditionally, the Lolo are not 574 interested in business dealings, but are most hospitable in entertaining guests. Even today all Lolo people, except clan enemies, can get free lodging and board anywhere in their region. The entertainment of strangers has become a custom which no host can neglect. Every year the Lolo of Hsiao-liang Shan always take a trip to Ta-liang Shan to visit fellow clan members or friends and relatives. During their travels, they can stop at any house on the way and are assured of entertainment by the host. No matter what kind of food is served, it is shared equally between host and guest, and no one is allowed to enjoy it by himself. The miser is despised by society and [577] not tolerated by tradition.

574 [67] The custom of entertaining guests is so common 576 that sometimes in order to meet the demands of custom the 578 host has to treat rather cordially any stranger who comes to him, even though he may not like him personally. Otherwise the stranger might get angry and do something mean to him, and the incident may even lead to a clan feud. It is also a 574 common social custom for the Lolo to share his food with those 576 who are present instead of enjoying it alone. This custom, when carried to extremes, becomes compulsory and rather inconvenient to people. I still remember when the inspection team reached Ting-chia P'ing in Liang Shan, we stayed at the house of the black Lolo, Ting Yü-k'e. Our headman-protector, Ta-chi, had with him a slave who was a wine carrier, but instead of taking him to the house, Ta-chi hid him on the mountain. I asked the interpreter about this and learned that if the wine carrier should stay with the Ting family, then the wine had to be shared by all present and it would be gone before it could be transported to San-ho-i-ta.

574 This kind of hospitality is observed mutually according 182 to social etiquette. In the wild Liang Shan region where the population is sparse and traveling difficult because of the lack of modern hotels and teahouses, the villagers entertain strangers who travel there with the expectation that someday when they themselves are on the road they will receive similar treatment from the different clan families in other villages. Therefore we know that the entertainment of strangers, like many other aspects of a primitive society, is a kind of social structure designed for adaptation to a special environment.

431 In the preceding chapter on marriage, we have men- 182 tioned that the exchange of gifts between the bride's and the

1: Lin . E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[82] CHAPTER 8

CLAN FEUDS

628 Clan feud is one of the special features of Lolo society; it is no less important than the class system. The hostility and armed fighting of enemy clans embrace the various aspects of their social life and are by no means simple warfare and politics, or mere matters of economy or law. Like the class system, clan feud is a pivot in Lolo culture, around which are linked the different parts of their social life. As society is originally a unit by itself, the different aspects of human life are chains that mutually overlap and interrelate with each other. Any slight shock in life is bound to affect the society as a whole. In a community, because of cultural development or historical tradition, one or two aspects of life are apt to receive greater emphasis and become eventually the pivotal point of the culture. Clan feud among the Lolo is thus one of these pivots.

578 628 Anyone entering the Lolo area cannot fail to observe the prevalent phenomena of fighting and killing between Lolo clan enemies. The extent of these feuds usually depends upon the size of the hostile groups. There are feuds between clans, clan villages, and clan branches. There is not one branch or lineage among the Lolo families in Liang Shan that is in complete amity with its neighbors or without some involvement with hostile families surrounding them. When the inspection team entered Liang Shan and went westward from Ma-ching-tzu, our headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, and his nephew, Lao-mu, suddenly disappeared together and A-cho Che-chio took their place to lead the way. It was not until we reached Cho-chiao-na-ta that we met the uncle and nephew again. The reason was that the region from Ma-ching-tzu westward was under the influence of the Pu-chi branch, which for generations had been a clan enemy of the Li-ch'ü branch. Countless times they had killed one another for revenge. As clan enemies cannot trespass each other's territory, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi and his nephew secretly took a roundabout road to avoid conflict.

There are a number of reasons for contracting clan feuds. A long-standing feud could be initiated by clan

ancestors and handed down from grandfather to father, from father to son, and from son to grandson for several or even several tens of generations. During this time, members of enemy clans would kill each other without reconciliation. New clan enemies are created because of mutual misunderstanding or a conflict of interest between two groups. Without their being able to tolerate each other, the situation could be aggravated into open armed conflict.

The reasons for clan-feud fighting are by no means simple. According to Lolo tradition, there is a regulation for making reparations. For example, [83] if a man kills another, he should pay with his life. If the killer refuses to do so, then the blood kin of the victim would appeal to force, and the relatives of the killer would unite to resist the attack, thus leading to a bloody fight between the two clans. Blood feud, a universal phenomenon in primitive society, is sufficiently manifest among the Lolo. When Wang Chü-sung, the interpreter of the inspection team, served as a slave in the family of the white Lolo, Ti-ku-ku, he himself witnessed personally many clan feuds. The black Lolo master of Ti-ku-ku was Li-pieh Chih-ha, who was involved in an armed fight with the Wu-ch'i branch on account of a clan feud. Previously, a male member of the Wu-ch'i branch had died suddenly on his way home. His clan members, suspecting that he was assassinated by someone from the Li-pieh branch, asked for indemnities from the Li-pieh branch, which refused and persisted in its denial of the incident. So the dispute could not be settled. Later, members of the Wu-ch'i clan secretly banded together to attack the Li-pieh clan village. The Li-pieh branch was prepared for the attack. Led by the black Lolo Chih-ha, the clan members and their white Lolo subjects, among them Ti-ku-ku, went straight to a place called A-ning Ch'i-ho just east of the village of Pu-shih-ko, where they encountered members of the Wu-ch'i branch. The two clans faced each other on opposite sides of the mountain, shooting and fighting from morning till evening. As a result three persons from the Li-pieh branch and one from the Wu-ch'i were killed. The second time, the Li-pieh branch took revenge; the clan members, again led by Chih-ha, assaulted the village stockade of the Wu-ch'i branch, killing one black Lolo and seizing three oxen before they strode away in triumph. Since then, the Li-pieh and Wu-ch'i branches have been fighting and killing each other in renewed feuds. The black Lolo Hou-p'u branch, which has common kinship with both clans, has volunteered to help reconcile and make peace between them, but without success

628 because of disagreement over the peace terms. This time when Wang Chü-sung entered Liang Shan as an interpreter, he inquired about this clan feud between Li-pieh and Wu-ch'i, and was told that they still continued their armed fight without having reached any peaceful solution.

628 The main cause of clan feud is usually manslaughter. As the incident gradually becomes enlarged, it leads eventu-
567 ally to interclan revenge and killing. Disputes involving slaves
578 are another important factor in clan feuds. Sometimes a slave would flee from one clan branch to surrender himself to another, thus stirring up hostility between the two. At other times, a feud may arise from the efforts of the black Lolo master to come forward to protect his slaves who are being insulted or tortured by the members of some other clan. As the white Lolo are quite numerous in each clan and their affairs rather complicated, their frequent contact with outside clans would inevitably embroil them in quarrels that, once they become serious, could result in interclan armed fighting, with the black Lolo masters playing the role of protectors for the slaves of their own clan.

578 At Ma-liu Wan village, for instance, the Lolo chief, Li-
567 ch'ü Ta-i, made an enemy of Yang Tai-ti, daughter of the late
648 Yang T'u-szu, on account of his slave, Po Ts'an-k'ai. Formerly Ta-i's slave, Po escaped to Lei-po and surrendered himself as a slave to the household of [84] Yang Tai-ti, where his mother was once Tai-ti's wet nurse. During the spring of 1943, Ta-i met Ts'an-k'ai at Lei-po city and admonished him to return to Ma-liu Wan. Po, however, secretly leagued himself with some military personnel and had Ta-i arrested and taken to a military camp, where he was tied on a beam and beaten. Ta-i asked someone to intercede for him and spent 50 ounces of silver for ransom. So Ta-i cherished a deep hatred for Po and was anxious for an opportunity to revenge. Repeatedly he sent messages to Tai-ti, accusing Po of having deceived him and demanding Po's surrender. At that time Yang Tai-ti was studying abroad and did not know about the incident. The steward of Yang's household, considering himself a former employer of Yang T'u-szu, paid no attention to Ta-i's demand. One day in early summer, when Tai-ti returned to Lei-po, Ta-i dispatched his men to Wang-shen P'o north of the city to cut down all the corn there because the land belonged to the Yang household and its tenant farmer, the slave Su, was a steward of the family. The county magistrate, Li K'ai-ti, was only newly appointed to his office. Upon hearing suddenly that a band of Lolo had come to destroy the corn,

578 he suspected a Lolo riot and immediately sent an officer in
567 charge of Lolo affairs to make inquiries and take action ac-
648 cordingly. This incident occurred before the inspection team got to Lei-po.

563 The Lolo treat the Han-Chinese under their protection
628 as they treat the white Lolo slaves. At Huan-kou village in Hsiao-liang Shan were some ten Han-Chinese families who had put themselves under the protection of the Mo-shih branch. Among them was the family of Ch'en Yu-lun. About three or four years ago, some black Lolo from Ta-liang Shan attacked the Ch'en family and carried away the Ch'en couple with their boy and girl, a total of four persons, and two guns. The black Lolo of Ta-liang Shan asserted that because of a false accusation by Ch'en Yu-lun's master, Mo-shih Tso-t'i, he had been imprisoned at Lei-po and was not released until he had paid a ransom of 50 ounces of silver. This time he captured the entire Ch'en family to avenge his betrayal by Tso-t'i. Later, Ch'en Yu-lun escaped from Ta-liang Shan. Since Tso-t'i was studying at that time at a military academy in Ch'eng-tu, Ch'en complained to Tso-t'i's mother, explaining to her all that had happened. Tso-t'i's mother discussed the matter with Wu-ch'i K'e-ku, who belonged to a kin clan of one of the influential Lolo leaders of the Mo-shih branch, and sought his help as a mediator. K'e-ku went to Ta-liang Shan and arranged for the ransom of Ch'en Yu-lun's wife and son, the daughter having already died, at a cost of 80 ounces of silver. First, K'e-ku marked out a portion of his own land in the Liang Shan area as a guarantee. After the return of Ch'en's wife and son to Huan-kou, Ch'en Yu-lun, since he had no cash on hand, transferred to K'e-ku his own land and property worth 80 ounces of silver. But still, the whole dispute has not been completely settled. Ch'en Yu-lun had an oral message delivered to Tso-t'i at Ch'eng-tu, asking him to come back to Lei-po to take personal charge of the affair; if Tso-t'i had not actually accused the black Lolo, as was charged, then the entire Mo-shih branch would raise an army of revenge to punish the ringleader.

628 The reasons for starting a clan feud cannot be dis-
578 cussed in detail here, but the foregoing examples give some idea of its main features. Because of conjugal relations, the Lolo women constitute a binding force for different clans or branches, but sometimes they also create problems that may become one of the important factors of clan feud. On account of [85] ill-treatment by the husband's family, a married woman often escapes to her own family to make

628 complaints, thus giving rise to hostility between the two clans
578 and leading eventually to mutual killing for revenge. Also the transfer of a woman's marriage partnership may cause some kind of complication that could develop into a clan feud. In the instance mentioned earlier, a murder occurred when the widow Hu from the Li-ch'ü family at Wu-chio refused a second marriage to Hu Ch'ang-pao. This so infuriated Wu-ch'i Ku-pao, Ch'ang-pao's mother's elder brother's son, that he went to attack Wu-chio. Furthermore, the refusal to return the betrothal money and gifts according to Lolo tradition upon the girl's death would also result in disputes between the man's and the girl's clans. Therefore it frequently happens in Lolo society that today two clans may become united as affinal relatives on friendly terms with each other, and then tomorrow, because of some misunderstanding, they quarrel, fight, kill each other, and eventually become clan enemies.

628 There is no definite formula for fighting clan feuds.
725 Whenever one clan feuds with another, it assembles its members secretly to prepare for an attack. The Lolo are unlike the Australian natives who agree beforehand on the time and place as well as the number of participants on each side before they go to the field for the armed battle. On the other hand, the Lolo make surprise attacks, like the Andaman or Borneo natives. Before they strike, they make ceremonial preparations and band together for the invasion with the main objective of attacking the enemy village or post and of capturing enemy property and goods.

751 The Lolo believe in the efficacy of the amulet, which is always worn as a protective charm. Before attacking the enemy, the fighter usually takes some lamb hair, asks the pi-mu to pronounce charms and draw spells on it, then sews it on inside the underclothing; he also stays away from women. Within 21 days, the lamb hair should have the power to protect the fighter against knife or gun. Other articles, such as tiger's whiskers and the savage's hair and fingernails, are also used as amulets for body protection.

628 Before starting the fight, they first seek divination to
787 inquire about their good or bad luck. There are various forms of divination, such as divination with wood or bones, or by killing a chicken or a pig. All these will be discussed in detail in the following chapter on magic. It suffices to explain here the relationship between clan-feud fighting and the practice of divination and magic. From the Lolo point of view, a victory or defeat in fighting is all foretold in the supernatural world by divine revelations that are not to be ignored.

614 for an indemnity price. As Pieh-t'u had been dead and Ta-i
682 had gradually become prominent, no one in the Li-ch'ü clan
627 dared raise any objection. Therefore, due to human relations and environmental factors, the traditional rule of paying with one's life for killing a clan member has also been waived and gradually changed in form and direction.

Nonetheless, in Lolo society, the killing of a blood
578 kinsman of a near branch sometimes still calls for the pay-
682 ment of life for life. For close relatives, such as brothers, father's younger brothers, and brother's sons, as well as father's sister's sons, mother's brother's sons, mother's sister's sons, and others who are involved in mutual feud killing, the killers all have to pay with their lives. To cite a case previously mentioned: Mo-shih Tso-t'i, who had been studying at the military academy in Ch'eng-tu, unfortunately had to return home for business before his graduation. It happened that at the time his elder brother was acting as a headman-protector to take more than a dozen Han-Chinese merchants from northern Yunnan to Liang Shan. The brother discussed with Tso-t'i his plot of kidnapping the Han-Chinese
[177] merchants as slaves in an act of reverse protection. Tso-t'i,
however, who had recently received an education, knew that the Han-Chinese and the Lolo were of the same national family as citizens of the Republic of China, so he resisted his
[162] brother's advances. The latter argued violently with Tso-t'i and insisted on reverse protection with the result that in a fit of temper Tso-t'i killed himself with a gun. The clan members
[672] felt that Tso-t'i's brother should pay for the death with his life, but since Tso-t'i was not actually killed by his brother, the case remained undecided for a long time and is still not settled today.

614 On conclusion, within the framework of clan kinship,
672 the Lolo are encouraged to unite together and share collective responsibility so that clan members would not fight each other in a feud, and anyone who kills a member of his clan must pay with his own life. However, in external clan re-
614 lationships, the clan feud is an important structure in their
628 social life. As they have a warlike pattern in fighting clan
555 feuds generation after generation, their young men first
182 learn from them the art of fighting and later they themselves organize expeditionary teams to attack clan enemies and to rob and kill on route. Eventually the more people one kills and the more booty he seizes, the more famous he becomes and the higher his social position. Gradually he gets the title of headman-protector and becomes [91] a political leader.

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

622 long before this, still another Earth Eye had been captured
648 in the same way, in the same city, and had been summarily executed. No wonder that these landlords give the cities where the officials live a wide berth. They all know that there are crimes sufficient laid at their doors to warrant the execution of nearly every one of them. This second Earth Eye who had Christmas dinner with us, when he found himself in durance vile, determined to leave no stone unturned. He managed to bribe some of the people about him, and so got arrangements made for escape. Some of his retainers brought his swiftest horse one night, and waited outside the city wall. A confederate dug through the earth wall of the prison, and through this hole the prisoner escaped. A short, quiet run brought them to the city wall, down which there was no great difficulty in climbing. Jumping on the magnificent horse which knew him, and was waiting for him, the escaped landlord fled for his life. Had he been overtaken, he would in all probability have been executed the same day. It was indeed a very frightened man that fled through that night. His trusty horse served him well, as if he knew what depended on his efforts, and by morning, horse and rider were both over the borders, and in another province safe from the pursuit of the Chaotung officials. Very few Earth Eyes have had so near an escape as that. A poor horse might have been his undoing. We had a ride together once, the Nosu Earth Eye on his faithful horse, and I on my little black-and-white Nosu pony.

• 578 There is a sister also to the two brothers who quarrelled so tragically. She also has had her full share of trouble, and has been the heroine in more than one terrible incident. She was married into a family with the territorial name of

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

Shoh-ee. It cost her husband ten thousand ounces of silver 578 to win his bride. Not long after the marriage I rested one night in her husband's castle, and was hospitably treated.

The mother-in-law received us in the guest hall, and squatted on the floor, smoking her long pipe while we talked to her. She was nervous, as she had never had a foreigner in her house before. The young husband soon after marriage became very ill, and it was seen that he was in a rapid consumption. Being the only son, and just married, this threatened serious trouble on the estates, in case he died. Many cures were tried but none were successful, and the young consumptive Earth Eye soon left his bride a widow. In the absence of male issue, an uncle came forward and claimed the estates, and from this time forward there was persistent fighting and trouble. The uncle called on all the tenants, and demanded their allegiance, under threat of dire punishment if they refused. The widow and the dowager lady resisted these attempts for a long time, but evidently these women were not made of such stern stuff as the mother of Mr Long, who so successfully fought all the claimants to her lands. Some months after the death of the husband 578 a son was said to have been born, and of course that made a 695 change in the state of the struggle. The uncle and his party said that the baby was one purchased from a poor Chinese family, and they gave the name of the hamlet where this family lived. They refused, therefore, to recognise the new heir to the estates. Just at this point, the officials got hold of the case. They have a keen eye for a case that spells money for their pockets, while they leave severely alone most of the terrible tragedies that are such a disgrace to many of these country-sides. The disputants appeared,

578 therefore, in the Chinese law courts, to continue the struggle.
695 Everybody thought that the only way in which the widow could prove the child genuinely her own was by suckling it in open court. The mandarin adopted this test, but did it in such a way as to carry no conviction to some of the onlookers. They evidently forgot that some of these officials never want a *cause célèbre* like this settled off too quickly. The cow must be milked quite dry before it is sent back to its pastures. The mandarin stated in court that the child had actually taken the widow's milk, and therefore must be genuine. The opposing side said that it was the official who had done the drinking, by swallowing a large bribe, and that there was no trace of milk in the widow's breast. But the case was won *pro tem.* by the widow. She realised, however, that that was not the end of the matter, and that the struggle would be continued for a long time yet. She determined to look about for stronger protection than she
622 then possessed. Several days' journey away lived another Earth Eye, named Peh-eye. He was the strongest man in all his district, and ruled almost absolutely, keeping hundreds of armed retainers and slaves to enforce his bidding. Some middle person approached him, and told him about the widow who had such difficulty in keeping her husband's estates. Mr Peh-eye offered to marry the widow and defend her lands against all comers. The fact that he was very much married already made no difference to the arrangement. The chivalrous protector came, married the widow, and with his strong bands of armed men soon fought off all claimants to the estates. His ruthless way of dealing with enemies soon struck terror into the whole district. His men made his word law. Woe to anybody who disputed

000 to the same branch).

578 The relationship between the yüan chia is the very opposite of that between the ch'in chia. The Lolo have little education and culture; they are avaricious, quarrelsome and difficult to appease. An insignificant dispute--such as over a needle or thread--will make them yüan chia for generations. Even a one-time relative is liable to become an enemy, particularly if one of the married parties has already passed away. Neighbors who are enemies draw distinct boundary lines and maintain strict measures of defense. Each side is cautious and will not trespass upon the territory of the other under any circumstance. Otherwise the enemy can do with the intruder as it wills, even bringing about his death.

728 The Lolo make enemies easily but are reconciled with difficulty. Once enemies, two I branches remain enemies for generations and centuries, and no peace is possible between them except for a temporary truce. This type of mutual hatred and killing is very detrimental to the increase in birthrate among the I of Liang-shan. Peace is not attained even after cessation of actual warfare, since some slight incident may cause fighting to break out again at any moment. Both sides then summon their families and relatives--sometimes as many as ten branches--to fight with them, and thus spread bloodshed on a large scale. Only when both camps are exhausted and have inflicted irreparable losses on one another will fighting automatically cease, but as strength is regained, they will once more seek satisfaction for the wrong done. A cessation of hostilities may also be brought about through the effort of a Heh-I woman, as explained above, or through the mediation of a Chinese official. Yet regardless of the method employed to effect a truce, their enmity remains and will never be ended; it will burst forth again at the first opportunity. In regions close to the Chinese sphere of influence, there have been innumerable cases of Lolo people who have joined the Chinese in order to deal with their own enemies or who strive to appeal to the Chinese officials by slandering their enemies. These may be regarded as crooked ways of "fighting a blood-feud," and ought not to be encouraged. Such occurrences are still rare in the I region of Liang-shan, although "blood-feud fighting" (i.e. enemies fighting each other in opposite camps) is something which will continue to happen. /118/ In the event of the development of Liang-shan in the future, special attention should be paid to educating the Lolo, to be liberal and forgiving, not to develop hatred easily, and always to strive to dispel that hatred.

E-5

I family possessing a steelyard of its own, will always distrust that of the guest's. They still use the old-type large steelyard, some of which weigh 18 ounces to a chin (ordinarily 14 ounces/lbs). In these circumstances the guest must accept his bad luck and not argue. Once the salt lumps are weighed, the Wa-tzu grasp them as precious stones and dash home to stope away for future feeding of the sheep; only then do they return to carry the things. They will never trust the traveler for payment after service. They are, however, quite honest in that after payment they always accompany the party to its destination, without asking for tips, food and lodging. They are capable of solving their own problems, and are much cleverer than the Chinese in this respect.

Although they usually like to seize the Chinese for Wa-tzu, the Heh-I nevertheless consider it an honor to receive Chinese officials. This is indeed an amusing contradiciton. Mr. Hsü Hsiao-hui narrated that during his trip to Liang-shan, he and his party reached a place inhabited by two Heh-I families of similar status. They chose to stay with the more amicable family and in so doing provoked the indignation of the other. It so happened that the two families were enemies. The second family immediately sent his men to surround the house of the one with whom they were staying, and threatened violence. Mr. Hsü had to come forth personally to mediate, and by aggeeing to stay with the second family the next day, effected a truce. But their feelings of enmity were still very strong for they refused to enter the other house despite pressing invitations from Mr. Hsü. They finally cooked outdoors and slept in the open air throughout the night, waiting to accompany these Chinese officials for a reception at their house early next morning.

7: Clarke M-3 (no ate) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

Perhaps the saddest fact about the No-su is the rapidity with which they are dying out at the present time in the north-west of Kweichow and north-east of Yunnan. The unsanitary conditions in which they live—the water they drink is often drawn from stagnant pools fouled by sheep and cattle—and their riotous indulgence in whisky, opium, and other vices, sufficiently account for this. Such decadence of the race has given the strong an opportunity of enriching themselves at the expense of the weak, so that quarrelling and fighting about the division of land is always going on. They are burdened with the thought that their doom as a race is sealed. Some of them gather a little consolation from the coming of Christianity, and hope that it means the arrest of their decline. It may be, however, that the missionaries have arrived too late, for when deterioration of that sort sets in among any race it is difficult to arrest it.

When the Manchus came to China the No-su were practically independent, and the city of Chaotung did not then exist. The Manchus brought Yunnan and Kweichow under effective Imperial control. The campaign against the No-su of Chaotung and Weining was successful, and these were brought under Chinese rule.